

## New York Tribune.

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## By What Authority Could Our Sovereignty in the Philippines Be Renounced?

The new Governor General of the Philippines begins his career with a rehearsal of the President's policy of taking every step with a view to the independence of those islands, an end toward which it is hoped to move rapidly, adding on his own account a pledge to help to fulfill that promise and some remarks about this country's being "for the present" responsible for the welfare and progress of the islands and about our sovereignty being maintained only until the independence of the islands is complete. These things were doubtless approved by the Governor General's sponsor, Mr. Quezon, and elicited some unthinking applause from the populace of Manila. But in the cold, gray light of the morning after the inauguration it would scarcely be easy for Mr. Harrison, or for the President, to explain them in a satisfactory fashion.

The American title to sovereignty in the Philippines rests upon what the Constitution describes as the supreme law of the land; to wit, a treaty, made by the President, ratified by the Senate and executed by act of Congress. That treaty says: "Spain cedes to the United States the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands." There is no limitation or qualification. Our ownership of the islands is absolute and perpetual. The phrase is identical with that which gives us title to Porto Rico, and substantially so with those phrases upon which rest our titles to Louisiana, Florida and Alaska. All talk about either our authority or our responsibility being merely "for the present" is twaddle.

The complete and perpetual sovereignty of the United States over those islands having thus been established by the supreme law of the land, it is fitting to ask by what right Mr. Harrison promises, for himself or for the President, that it shall be abrogated as soon as possible. Does he imagine that he or the President has power to do such a thing? By the supreme law of the land the Philippines are the property of the United States, and the Constitution explicitly provides not that a Governor General, with the indorsement of a Filipino agitator, nor the President, but that Congress, and Congress alone, "shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property of the United States." We are not aware that Congress has repealed the treaty of 1898 or has in any way provided for the alienation of the Philippines.

In his glib chatter about fulfilling promises of speedy independence, therefore, the Governor General stands self-convicted of one of two things. Either he seeks to arrogate to himself or to the President authority which is vested exclusively in Congress, or he is making promises to the Filipinos which he knows he has no right to make and which he knows neither he nor the President has any power to fulfill. In the terse phrase of the street, it seems to be a case of either bunkum or bunco. Such tactics may command the momentary enthusiasm of their dupes. They are not creditable to the representative of a great government or to the government itself, and when their specious vanity and delusiveness are realized they will not be profitable to the welfare of the Philippines.

### Not at the City's Expense.

If, as "The Evening Sun" reports, Fire Commissioner Johnson is about to appear as one of the managers of the McCall campaign, his resignation ought to be already written out and on the way to the Mayor's office. The public can have no reason to complain if Mr. Johnson wishes to give his time and energy to political management. But it would have every reason to complain if he should try to tarry on the city's payroll while devoting himself to partisan activities.

Mr. Adamson, when he accepted the management of the fusion campaign, set the proper example by resigning as secretary to the Mayor. He knew that he could not earn his salary in office while working at fusion headquarters. Mr. Johnson also ought to see that he cannot serve the city as head of the Fire Department while laboring day and night to make votes for Mr. McCall.

If Tammany acquires a campaign manager the city is bound to lose a Fire Commissioner. Should Mr. Johnson not realize that fact immediately a brief note from the Mayor's office would probably make him see a great light.

### Another Step Toward Reorganization.

Mr. Hilles' call for a meeting of the Republican National Committee on December 16 is another step toward a rehabilitation of the Republican party. The committee will have it in its power to call a special national convention for the purpose of altering the basis of representation in future Republican national conventions and thus putting control of the party back into the hands of the voters. Until the management of the party is liberalized and popularized it cannot expect to win back the hundreds of thousands of voters estranged last year by the conviction that far too much power has been confided to a little ring of politicians entrenched within the national committee.

We do not believe that the national committee will consider seriously the suggestion that the desired reforms in management can be carried out without resort to a convention. The executive committee at its meeting last May appointed a subcommittee to report upon the advisability of the full committee's attempting to act on its own authority. But it would be exceedingly unfortunate if the committee accepted any advice to the effect that it is competent to order a change in the basis of representation.

In the first place, the committee is only in a faint way representative of the great body of Republican voters. The states all have equal repre-

sentation on it regardless of party strength, and the territories and dependencies have an equal voice with the states. It would be grotesque to have questions of vital importance to the welfare of the party decided in a body in which the Philippines, Porto Rico, Alaska and Hawaii could neutralize the vote of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois and Ohio. In the second place, the national committee has always held in the past that it could not amend the party rules governing representation in conventions. It has several times refused to approve suggestions for a new basis of representation, declaring that its authority is confined to applying the instructions given by preceding conventions.

That is the common sense view. The entire party should have a hand in the reorganization planned, which can be accomplished satisfactorily only in a special national convention representing the voters and invested by them with plenary powers.

### The Inside of a Prison.

We think Mr. Osborne's stay in Auburn prison was a wise adventure and will do good. Any excess of emotion which Mr. Osborne displayed on his release is easily understood by any visitor to a prison. The horror and terror of prison life as it has been administered in the past are things of which the world outside the bars knows nothing. The impress which a week of such treatment would make on any normal mind it is impossible to exaggerate.

The truth is the country has been blind and indifferent toward its prison system. With a growing leniency the world no longer hangs its burglars. But it proceeds to treat them as so much dead, waste material, beyond any possibility of reform. It imprisons them for a time under conditions which necessarily release them more corrupted and corrupting than when they entered.

A new light has broken in some of our Western states. The changed point of view is appearing here. It is not a question of sentimentality but of economics and common sense. As part of this widespread movement the testimony of Mr. Osborne has a real interest and much persuasive force.

### A Chinese President at Last.

The election of Yuan Shih-kai as President of the Chinese Republic has been generally expected, but will, nevertheless, be regarded with grateful relief. So long as he was not actually elected there was always danger of counter revolutions or other complications which might prevent the complete establishment of the republican system. Now that danger is past. The constitutional President is elected, and the new era is fully ushered in.

The world will applaud the choice as the best that could have been made. There are other competent statesmen in China, but not one who on the whole measures up to so high a standard of fitness for the Presidency as Mr. Yuan. His qualifications have been much discussed and are well known to the world. It needs only to be added that during his provisional occupancy of the office, in circumstances of more peculiar and formidable difficulty than he is likely hereafter to encounter, he has more than vindicated the confidence which has been reposed in him.

There has been talk of a general recognition of the new government of China by the other powers, following the example of the United States, immediately upon this election. That course ought certainly to be pursued. The republic deserves it, and the giving of such recognition will be a powerful aid to the new government.

### The Abounding Piffle of Mr. Edward Bok.

There seems to be no end to the marvellous, flawless piffle that Mr. Edward Bok can find and print. The flashes of genius he writes himself, setting down pure crystalline nonsense with the inspired devotion of an artist painting a Madonna.

He can always find others to help. Sometimes it is a really great writer who, none the less, under Mr. Bok's compelling inspiration, contrives to write as vacuously as a child of six. Again it is a plain, ordinary scientist like Dr. Frederick Starr, professor of anthropology in Chicago University, writing upon "The Secret Back of Fifth Avenue" in the current "Ladies' Home Journal."

Professor Starr seems to have made a quick trip up and down that thoroughfare on a bus. As a result of this searching investigation he reaches such startling conclusions as these:

Most of these women are out every evening to social functions; they are too exhausted by their efforts to start out upon the new day's labors earlier than 11 o'clock. They do not know how to converse, and they have no thoughts suitable for conversation matter. They have lost the art of reading, and if they skim an occasional copy of the magazines with their extraordinary mental effort. They are incapable of producing anything.

Such is the Fifth Avenue crowd. It is not only weak and neurotic; it has bad tendencies besides. It is ill natured in comment, mean in criticism. Nor is that all. Just look at the clothes! The dress of the Fifth Avenue parade is "meant for badness." Professor Starr is familiar "with the sister in the bush," and he considers that "September Morn" is "infinitely better than the peg-top skirt." And as the final proof of just what these "relapsed savages" who throng Fifth Avenue are up to, Dr. Starr presents this overwhelming news:

Not only thoughtless, but also scheming, women enter into today's parade. Let one who doubts it notice, when next he wanders through its crowd, the number of lovely widows, with conspicuous mourning rings, he meets. This is a new feature which bodes ill for the near future.

Shades of our beloved, democratic Fifth Avenue, what is the man thinking of! The best and the worst of the town are there—the newest, the oldest, the wickedest, the most virtuous, the richest, the poorest—perhaps the most interesting jumble of femininity in the world. It has lost the old dignity and quiet. It has gained a new and very American stir and variety. Only an inspired idiot—or a sane man reduced to idiocy by Mr. Bok's demands—could see in it anything but one of the most interesting and democratic spots in the world.

### The President and the Spoilsman.

The President is reported not to favor the breaking down of the merit system by surrendering the internal revenue and federal marshals' offices to the spoilsman. That was to be taken for granted in advance. The President has long been an advocate of the merit system and it is to be assumed that he remains faithful to it.

The important question is whether he will make his opposition to this raid effective. Some months ago, it will be recalled, he expressed strong disapproval of a certain rider on an appropriation bill, and yet signed the bill and thus put into effect the very thing which he had condemned. It would be regrettable, indeed, to have him repeat that performance.

The protests of the Civil Service Commissioners—Mr. Wilson's own appointees—and of the Civil



## THE FREED CONVICT

Back to the Scrap Heap?

## THE PEOPLE'S COLUMN

An Open Forum for Public Debate.

## MRS. PANKHURST'S PROFITS

If Every One Who Pays to Hear Her Is Satisfied, Who Can Criticize?

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Why all this talk in some newspapers about Mrs. Pankhurst's taking so much money from us? Doesn't every one who goes to her lectures expect to get more than he or she gives? None of us is going to hear her because we want to give her our money. We are going to hear her for various reasons, but every one of those reasons is closely connected with the idea that we are to get full value for what we pay, and none of them is the least benevolent on our part. Some of us are going because of curiosity to see a woman so much talked about; some because we admire her indomitable courage; some because we expect to be entertained; some because we expect to receive valuable instruction and information; some to severely criticize; but each and every one of us because we expect to get something for our money—and we will get it, full value. She takes all the risk of losses and pays all expenses. We take no risk. And if, by taking those risks, Mrs. Pankhurst eventually reaps a profit for the cause so dear to her heart, what have we to criticize her for? That money she takes with her—money we gave her for something we received from her which we could not receive from any one else and which we would not give any one else—for nothing—it belongs legitimately and most honorably to her and her cause, for she has honestly and honorably earned it. There is nothing the least bit charitable in Americans paying money for a good lecture—each one of them will get more than he gives, and, besides, no one is obliged to go to hear Mrs. Pankhurst, not even a suffragist. And if you don't have to do a thing, and even if you do it to gain something instead of losing, what in the name of common sense have you to find fault with?

And as to our experimental and blundering Democratic administration at Washington refusing her entrance to this country, why, if they want to add another colossal blunder to the many they have already made during the short time they have been in power, it may be the wisest thing for us not to try to urge them against it; and then, if Mrs. Pankhurst is the means of our seeing the egregious blunder we made last November, she will have added another to the long list of great things she has done for the world's progress. The refusal to allow Mrs. Pankhurst to enter this country, or, for petty reasons, to put her to a lot of unnecessary annoyance and discomfort, will give us advertisement all over the world of a nature we will ever after be ashamed to remember, but which other countries will never let us forget.

N. C.  
New York, Oct. 4, 1913.

standard of the cross, which means sacrifice to death, in his hand, calling the people to fight for things that are dearer than life against Tammany. Instead of asking the young theologians wanting to be licensed, "Do you believe in the virgin birth and miracles?" let the Presbytery of New York ask them: "If we license you to preach, will you fight with all your heart and soul against Tammany?" With what a bright and immensely relieved look these young men would say: "Yes." And let the subject of the weekly prayer meeting be changed from "The Sin of Achan" or "Paul's Journey" to "What Can We Do to Crush Tammany?" I fancy there would be a big meeting.

Let bishops and presbyters and presiding elders and deacons all get together; let churches be open everywhere, all days, and the theme be: Down with Tammany and graft and police murders and gambling dens—why, what a Church this would be! And where would Tammany be?

Plainfield, N. J., Oct. 4, 1913.

THE COLONEL'S LOYALTY

It Is Earnestly Defended by a Stanch Progressive.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: To the reports in the various newspapers on the supposed disloyalty of Theodore Roosevelt to the Progressive party; to the insinuations that the Progressive party was rapidly losing ground; to the insinuations that the Progressives were making secret deals with the Republicans—all these deliberate lies and oft repeated exaggerations and misstatements Colonel Roosevelt has made prompt and characteristically forceful rejoinder. In the timid, the wavering, the weak hearted in the Progressive rank and file the colonel's words will instill a new-born hope, the revival of the fighting instinct. They will nail to the mast the "Don't give up the ship" flag and fight for the Progressive principles with renewed courage, zeal and devotion. But the real Progressive—the man or woman who has never for a moment wavered in his or her devotion to the cause—the colonel's words do not affect. They will use his words as a means to convert the unbelievers, to strengthen the army, so that victory may the more speedily be ours.

We shall win. A party born of the hopes of the nation shall not perish from the earth. We are dedicated to a great cause: The democratization of our institutions, the destruction of the plutocracy, of Senatorial and judicial oligarchies, of "invisible government" and "judge-made laws."

Progressives of the nation: Close ranks! Remove the stumbling blocks of precedent from our path! The laws of precedent must give way to the laws of progress. Remember our motto:

Look forward, not backward; Look upward, not downward; And lend a hand.

HAROLD FOGEL  
New York, Oct. 5, 1913.

THE WISE DEMOCRATS

A Poet Hints That They May Have Another Guess.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: President Wilson is quoted as saying, now that the tariff bill has passed, "that we are about to enter on a period of great prosperity," and, true to his master, I further understand that Brother Underwood, of the House, is echoing the President's oracular forecast.

It occurs to me:

When'er I think of all the wise men say,  
The mysteries they solve, the puzzles clear,  
I note of how much time they waste per day,  
And how, in lucid moments, they appear.  
Both to themselves and to the other man,  
As knowing more than any mortal can.

We simple folk might just as well confess  
Simplicity, and let it go at that;  
Too much assumption leaves no room to guess.  
And half the world had rather not stand  
'Tis best to have the saving grace to doubt  
Than know it all, and then to be found out.

So you, of infinite capacities,  
Who go about, Wiseacres, knowing all,  
Are welcomed to lay down your wits  
and let us  
Yet, hold! You may be riding for a fall!  
We simple folk are willing to confess  
That half the things in life we'd rather guess.

New York, Oct. 4, 1913.

S. H. T.

## THE CHURCH AND TAMMANY

The Duty of the Clergy in the Present Fight.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: The Church ought to be openly and unflinchingly at the very front in the battle against Tammany. Morally and religiously this is the immediate question: Shall Tammany Hall lay its vile paw, reeking with corruption and lust and murder, upon the great City of New York?

Voltaire spoke this biting word: "When the Turks were overrunning Europe the Church was discussing whether there were one or two willis in the person of Christ." It must not be said: "When Tammany was trying to plunge New York into its foul pit the Church was discussing the virgin birth of Christ." Every true Christian minister ought to be at the very front in this battle, with the

Service Reform Association against the pending legislation ought to have much weight. They show that the scheme is an insidious one, which would restore the worst features of the spoils system to a far greater extent than appears upon the face of the bill. There ought to be no doubt as to the President's action in the matter. The bill should be vetoed unless Congress will amend it in accord with the principles of enlightened and honest public service.

We are all glad to see J. Franklin Baker again, but hope he will not abuse our hospitality.

Congress ought to hire some of the world's series "dope" experts to straighten out the complications of the new income tax.

The "post-stowaway" has been sent to jail. Perhaps he will try to write verses good enough—or bad enough—to procure his release.

## THE TALK OF THE DAY.

"Spellbinders have some mighty interesting experiences," said a man who in every campaign goes forth to help save the nation, "but the funniest one I think I ever had was over on the East Side when I was speaking for the Democratic candidates. The meeting was in a hall in the rear of a saloon, and I had a pretty good crowd. I thought I was making a good talk on the glories of the Democracy, but for some reason I couldn't get a hand. Just as I was in the midst of a strong argument on the tariff a voice from the rear of the hall rang out:

"Ah, say, w'y don't yer make a Democratic speech?"

"I was nonplussed for a moment, but got myself together quickly and shouted:

"Bartender, bring in two kegs of beer!"

"The applause that followed was deafening, and although the meeting adjourned at once to see that none of the amber fluid went to waste I felt convinced that I had made a hit."

"I see that New York has sold all its garbage to a Buffalo contractor."

"That's strange. I thought they were utilizing it on the stage."—Cleveland Plain Dealer.

## A MAN OF WEIGHT.

(Wilson says whatever Europe may do, he does not hold Bryan lightly.)

Bryan's sprightliness! Wilson rightly says he does not hold him lightly! Like a boulder on his shoulder, So he seems to each beholder. Europe scanned him, Europe tanned him; Europe could not understand him! We could spare him! We would share him! But it seems we have to bear him!

—G. B. M.

"Did you ever really love any girl before you met me?" asked the beautiful one.

"No," replied the titled foreigner, "you are the first girl I have ever known who had money in her own right."—Judge.

There is only one season of the year when benches are not at a premium in the city's parks, and that is in winter. A new problem has this year confronted park officials. It may lead to the building of benches with no divisions. The present type of bench is divided into four parts. "Spoons" insist on sitting in the two middle compartments. They do so believing no other couple will care to come along and sit down on the same bench and be separated. No others will intrude, either. So the lovers, while occupying only half the bench, by this ruse monopolize it all. During this last summer such antics made bench room as scarce as space at a world's series.

"Want time in vaudeville, eh? Are you a baseball player?"

"No."

"Shoot somebody?"

"What are you, then?"

"Merely an actor."

"An actor, eh? Well, I don't know. Actors are unusual in vaudeville, but the very novelty of the thing might make it a go."—Pittsburgh Post.